# The Turbanned Woman: Strong Gender Consonance in Sikhism

#### Parneet Brar<sup>1</sup>

# Dr. Prabhdeep Kaur Brar<sup>2</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Parneet Brar, Research Scholar
- <sup>1</sup> Dr. Prabhdeep Kaur Brar, Assistant Professor, UIFT, Panjab University, Chandigarh

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### **Abstract**

When he ordained the 'Khalsa' or the 'Pure', the Tenth Guru of the Sikh religious following, Guru Gobind Singh, gave uniformity to the socio-cultural presence of a new order of humanity. He designated all the men of the 'Khalsa' collectivity to be a 'Singh' or 'Lion' and all the women to be a 'Kaur' or a 'princess'. The women, when they were married to a 'Singh', became a 'Singhni' or 'Lioness'. This thought process had a simple yet profound ideology based approach to the turbulent and oppression promotive times. Civil strife and plunder threatened peace and prosperity. In one stroke the divide of male and female was balanced by the visionary act. For generations and in a number of communities there existed strong divisive forces between the sexes. It was for the first time that the social bindings of gender roles were dissolved and the potential of women highlighted from being home-makers to decision-makers. The women who were often eulogized as the 'honour' of the turban had in one stroke, after a wide variety of experiences gone on to wearing the turban and donning the mantle of authority for themselves. This paper examines the 21st century perceptions of the world youth on the wearers of the turban. It is an explanation of the Sikh beliefs as a common following and ideology as a people.

**KeyWords:** Socio-cultural, humanity, collectivity, turban, gender roles, decision maker, authority, ideology

#### Sikh Women Equal in Faith and Strength<sup>1</sup>

Women have grown to accept, though not without a large amount of resentment, the male-dominated hierarchies being practiced in the world. People tend to use religious doctrines to define their lifestyles, religious scriptures in both the East and the West seem to condone, even encourage, the unequal treatment of women. Sikhism crowned women with the identity of 'Kaur' (derived from the word kunwar) which means next in line for power, at a time 'when women were seen as man's shoe, the root of all evil, a snare, a temptress.' Her function was only to perpetuate the race, do household work, and serve the male members of society.

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The concept of being Kaur was the symbolized liberation from the inherent traditional hierarchies that bound women across the world. It was a declaration of women being below or subordinate as compared to the men. 'Kaur' is the equalizer a name that all Sikh women carry giving them the identity of princess who had the world as their inheritance. Sikhism as a religion never discriminated against the women going through the lunar cycle of menstruation. They were not considered impute. They were given free entry to temples, kitchens and sacred places. The Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh taught women the art of warfare.

Guru Nanak the first Sikh Guru condemned the man-made notions of the inferiority of women. He protested strongly against her subjugation. The Sikh scripture the Guru Granth Sahib, has described the place of women in creation giving clarity to the origin of all things natural and spiritual.

"In a woman, man is conceived, From a woman, he is born, With a woman he is betrothed and married, With a woman, he contracts friendship. Why denounce her, the one from whom even kings are born? From a woman, woman is born, None may exist without a woman."
-Shri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Ang 473

The first Sikh Guru questioned the practices of the society of his times. Why should women be excluded or even shunned from everyday life because of menstruation? He propagated the scientific root of the phenomenon when he explained how it was this menstruation which allows for the birth of everyone and ironically, allows for the birth of those who deny the woman her rights. No man would be here without a strong woman. "Why should you speak ill about a woman, when she was the one who gave birth to you?" was the underlying thread to his thought processes. Guru Nanak Sahib openly challenged people who claimed women to be "impure." Then why is it that religious and political leaders find it is permissible to manipulate the words of the Gurus? This 'shabad' or writing in the 'Gurbani' embodied the queries Guru Nanak Sahib had for humanity;

"As a woman has her period, month after month, so does falsehood dwell in the mouth of the false; they suffer again and again. They are not called pure, who sit down after merely washing their bodies. They are pure, O Nanak, within whose minds the Divine abides." (Shri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Ang 472)

From the first Guru to the tenth the teachings have been explicit. All are equal and without discrimination of any form. Then there seems to be an aberrant stream of thought that has had the discrimination of women's identity being condoned by Sikh religious men when it comes to their women folk, the 'Kaurs'. The teachings clearly stipulate equality but it is clearly evident from the treatment meted out to women in Sikh Society today that the tenets laid down by the Gurus are not adhered to. Sikh women are not being allowed to perform hymns and kirtan or read the Guru Granth Sahib (vakh lena) at any of the historical Gurudwaras across the country. They claim that it is the Sikh 'Rehat Maryada' (Code of Conduct) which condemns women from performing rendition of kirtan, but how can this be the truth.

There is no mention in Sikh history of any discrimination against women, then why is it that today that women are made out to be treading a different path. Recent history is witness to this ongoing conflict where Sikh women have been trying to understand why the word of the Guru not being followed. Is it time for Sikh women to take up the only symbol of Sikh identity which they were devoid of? Should they too don the turban or 'pagh'.

Indian society discriminates against women in general but it has been observed that even the Sikh society tends to measure a woman's value as a bride by the size of her dowry and not necessarily her character and integrity. Family background in terms of land owned, prestige and power in the community are the main indicators. Thus, despite the head start of over 500 years, Sikh women today are no better off than their counterparts in any other religion or nation.

#### The Head Covering: Power for Him, Humility for Her

According to Guru Nanak Sahib and the foundations of the holy Sikh scripture the Guru Granth Sahib 'Ek' (one) denotes that there is no difference between all human beings as they are all children of the One. The Gurbani has clearly stated to stay away from mind-corrupting power by laying down the merits of hard work and humility or surrender to the will of God. Covering the head when entering a sacred place, symbolized the elimination of ego, greed and corruption. Why is it then that the covering of the head by women denotes one thing and that of men denotes another? The turban on a man's head has been accorded the symbolic representation of being identified as a 'Sardar' or a man of power and prestige. The turban gets imbued with the properties of honour, status and pride. A man wearing of turban has been recognized as a man of substance. For women, however, the head covering has denoted humanity, purity, piousness and pity. The Gurus fought against 'purdah' and demeaning practices like 'sati' (ritual self immolation by a woman's on her husband's funeral pyre) prevalent during those times and yet life has come full circle once again as women are 'expected to cover their heads to show respect to men. The Sikh women covering their head are attributed with entirely opposed qualities as compared to the men. The discrimination of 'Singh' and 'Kaur' thus seems to begin from the head covering.

Among the many qualities of being Gursikh is to put others before self. However, many Giannis who call themselves 'Gursikhs' are sitting back today in silence, condoning their ignorance by not willingly protesting this injustice. It is now time to realize fully the freedom and equality ordained by the Gurus for all human beings, regardless of gender. The Gurus preached quality for the Sikhs and meant both Singhs and Kaurs. The Sikhs have risked their lives to fight for equality for centuries by opposing the caste system and oppressors ranging from the Mughals to the British and even in contemporary times. Many Sikh today, judge each other by the differentials of caste and the amount of income they earn. The age old seeds of dispute continue to be gold, land and women (Zarr, Zameen and Zan). Women expect equality, when the Sikh community has been unable to distinguish between religious tenets and the culture imposed by the majority community which engulfs them? The wearing of the turban thus has loaded meaning apart from what it had been originally been endowed with.

## Historical Perspective on Equality of Women Developed in Sikhism

Sikh scriptures offer valuable insights on gender but Sikh scholarship seems to have not paid enough attention to this topic. In 1708, the Hindu society of North India had succumbed to Muslim rulers who invaded repeatedly from outside – Turks, Afghans, and Mughals. In the old Hindu caste society women were completely subjugated to their husbands, and under the new Muslim regime women had to stay in 'purdah'. Witnessing this multiple oppression of Indian women, the Sikh gurus empathized with them and propagated gender equality. Somehow, over time the ideals of the Sikh Gurus became distorted because their lives and their words were recorded, interpreted, and taught primarily by the male elites though clear and simple in the teachings became a complicated and convoluted issue within the tenets and over the ages the followers of Sikhism. While all five identifiers were shared equally by the Singhs and Kaurs the headgear, adopted as a mark of respect came to be a measure of the position of men and women in society. The turban identified and segregated the men from women.

Women became equal partners in the first Sikh community established by Guru Nanak in Kartarpur. Both men and women participated in formulating the fundamental Sikh institutions of 'seva' (voluntary labor), 'langar' (community meal), and 'sangat' (congregation). Sikh men and women listened to and recited sacred hymns. Together they cooked and ate 'langar'. Together they formed a democratic congregation without priests or ordained ministers. The pattern of inclusivity set up by Guru Nanak in Kartarpur continued on, and women were not excluded by any of the Sikh gurus from any aspect of religious and social life patterns. In fact their vital participation in varied dimensions of life and living became deeply etched on the minds and behaviour of the people. The mind set, however, changed and became rigid down the centuries. A glimpse of the Prominent Women featuring in Sikh History is Given in Table-1.

Table 1: Distinguished Women in Sikh History

Sr.	Distinguished	Position	Time	Contribution
No.	women in Sikh History		Period	
1	Mata Khivi	Wife of second Guru, Guru Angad Dev Ji	1506- 1582	<ul> <li>Spread and Supervised the tradition of 'Langar' (meals to everyone) propagated by Guru Nanak Dev Ji.</li> <li>Only woman to have a reference in Guru Granth Sahib Ji (the holy scripture of Sikhs)</li> </ul>
2	Bibi Amaro	Daughter of Guru Angad and Mata Khivi	1952	Became liaison between the second and the third Guru

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3	Bibi Bhani	Guru Amar Das's daughter	1535- 1598	<ul> <li>Her rendition of Gurbani mesmerized Guru Amar Das ji</li> <li>Her marriage with Ram Das the fourth Sikh Guru</li> <li>She donated the site of Amritsar to the Sikh Guru</li> <li>Her son Arjan, the fifth Sikh Guru, built the Hari Mandir and enshrined the sacred Guru Granth Sahib</li> </ul>
4	Mata Jitoji	Guru Gobind Singh's First Wife	1673- 1747	• Mata Jitoji who added sugar puffs to the cauldron of 'nectar' to propagate the initiation of the 'Khalsa' by Guru Gobind Singh Ji.
5	Mata Sahib Devan	Guru Gobind Singh's Third Wife	1681- 1747	Became the Spiritual     Mother of the Khalsa
6	Mata Gujari	Guru Gobind Singh's Mother	1624- 1705	<ul> <li>Mata Gujari had to raise Guru Gobind Singh as a single parent</li> <li>Mata Gujari was the wife of Guru Teg Bahadur Ji and Grandmother to the Four Sahibzade or sons of Guru Gobind Singh</li> <li>She distinguished as being the wife of Saint Martyr, mother of martyred king and grandmother of the bravest kids (four shahibzade).</li> <li>Eventually she became the first female Martyr in Sikh History</li> </ul>
7	Mata Sundari	Guru Gobind Singh's Second Wife	1667	<ul> <li>Mata Sundari provided guidance to the Sikhs</li> <li>She completed the unfinished works of the Tenth Sikh Guru</li> </ul>

				She did not hesitate to disown her adopted son when he became power- hungry
8	Mai Bhago	Daughter of a prominent landowner named Bhai Mallo Shah	1705	<ul> <li>She herself fought for the Guru in the battle at Muktsar in December 1705</li> <li>She accompanied Guru Gobind Singh as one of his personal bodyguards</li> <li>She put on the battle outfit and strode to the battlefield of Khidrana (Battle of 40 Muktiyan or Muktsar) along with the 40 Sikhs, a radical symbol of what she empowered to do. She was the lone survivor in this battle.</li> </ul>
9	Maharani Jind Kaur	First and Last female leader of Sikh Empire	1817- 1863	<ul> <li>Maharani Jind Kaur was the first and last female leader of the Sikh Empire and a powerful force against British rule in India. She was rebel and continued to be the end.</li> <li>The British considered Jind Kaur aka Rani Jindan too rebellious.</li> </ul>
10	Sophia Duleep Kaur Singh	A Suffragette and leading campaigner for women's rights in the United Kingdom	1876- 1948	<ul> <li>She became a political radical and joined the suffragette struggle to give women the right to vote.</li> <li>She served as the President of the Committee of the Suffragette Fellowship.</li> </ul>

Source: Compiled by Author

Sikh history is replete with excellent examples of women leading Sikh institutions of 'sangat' and 'langar', reciting sacred hymns, fighting boldly against oppression and injustice, and generating liberating new rituals. This process of changed mindset was not limited to the family members of the Gurus nor was it observed among the women closely associated with them or

even the women belonging to the elite ranks of society. The 'Singhni' was repository of the Sikh faith which had opened up a wide horizon for all women, irrespective of caste, class, or marital status.

## Embodiment of Women in Sikh Philosophy Vs. Sikh Mindset

They were all equal partners with men in Sikh practices and spiritual growth. The Sikh scripture, Guru Granth Sahib, promotes gender equality in numerous ways as its text offers a vast range of feminine symbols and imagery: the ontological ground of all existence is mata, the mother; the divine spark within all creatures is 'joti', the feminine embodiment of light; the soul longing to unite with the transcendent One is 'suhagan', the beautiful young bride; the benevolent glance coming from the divine is the feminine 'nadar', grace. Sikh scripture continuously provides readers with a multivalent and complex feminine imagery. This variety in turn presents a host of options through which men and women can become who they choose to be.

Images of conception, gestation, childbirth, and lactation are unambiguously and powerfully presented wherein all Sikhs are reminded repeatedly that they are created from the mother's blood, lodged in her womb, and first nurtured by her milk. The Guru Granth Sahib is unique in world scriptures in celebrating the centrality of menstrual blood (Guru Granth, 1022, 706). Whereas it had been Shunned as a private, shameful process, menstruation has been acknowledged in Sikh scriptures as an essential, natural, creative process. The Guru Granth Sahib condemns pollution associated with childbirth and customs of purdah and sati. The empowering scriptural message has not been heeded in the contemporary context. The radically uplifting female concepts, symbols and images permeating the Guru Granth Sahib are simply neglected. The fundamentally patriarchal culture of the Punjab has continued to reproduce male stream interpretations, and other factors have produced andocentric attitudes in Sikh society.

Sikh ethics is oriented toward this world. It affirms the body and the primacy of human relationships. There is no priesthood in Sikhism, so both men and women are free to read and recite the sacred verse at home or in public, and anybody from within the sangat (congregation) can be chosen to lead worship. The written laws of the Sikh religion grant full equality to men and women in all spheres-religious, political, domestic, and economic. It is in the unwritten laws however, that govern daily life where these basic tenets are ignored.

Women play an active role in devotional practices at home, but leading pubic worship is a privilege restricted to men. Daily ceremonies like 'prakash' (opening of the Guru Granth Sahib) and sukhasan (putting it to rest in the evening) in 'gurdwaras', the annual celebrations of Baiskahi and Gurpurabs (birthdays or death anniversaries of the gurus), and all rites of passage for Sikh men and women are conducted and administered almost exclusively by men. Gender distinctions play a significant role because the superior role and privilege of men in public is unconsciously taken into the home, with the result that male domination is reproduced in the family, home, and Sikh society at large.

## Same but not Equal: Sikh Gender Concept and Context

In Sikhism there are four significant rites of passage which can be enumerated as:

- a) Name giving
- b) Amrit initiation
- c) Marriage
- d) Death

Though these rights are theoretically the same for both men and women, they end up being quite different in Sikh practice. For example, both male and female children are named in consultation with the holy book. Sikhs tend to have same names for boys and girls with only the addition of the name 'Kaur' (meaning "princess") for girls and Singh (meaning "lion") for boys which indicate the gender of the child. This is another great feature traceable to Guru Gobind Singh, for he freed women from the lineage of fathers and husbands. But this liberating phenomenon is buried under the ritual ancient discrimination against girls. The "same" name-giving ceremony ultimately depends on sex of the child as the celebrations are more elaborate and joyous, with huge 'langars', for a male child's ceremonies and a definitely more subdued version for the female child.

Sikh initiation is also open to both men and women, and both are to wear the same five symbols. However, Sikh identity has been monopolized by masculinity, for it is the male, with his turban, who has come to represent all Sikhs. Boys are privileged in all spheres of life. Cylindrical festivals, like the Punjabi winter ritual of Lohri, are celebrated with pomp and gaiety where a boy is born. While parents and grandparents of a boy happily dole out money and gifts around crackling bonfires, the parents and grandparents of a girl remain sad during the cold dark nights of Lohri. Affluent Sikh families have also begun to celebrate the 'Dastar Bandi' (turban tying) with great pomp and show. This tying of the turban for the first time is becoming a popular rite of passage for boys.

The obsession for sons is so great among Sikhs that modern technology is abused to abort female fetuses. Ultrasound and other technologies are also misused to preserve the legacy, business, property, and status of fathers and their sons. From the moment of birth the son and daughter are chartered out different roles and given a whole different set of obligations. Victims of false consciousness themselves, mothers and grandmothers continue to perpetuate double standards.

Sikh marriages are traditionally a simple and profound affair, but they have become extremely opulent, with extravagant dowries and exorbitant gifts to the daughter and her in-laws for every rite, ritual, and festival. The Sikh scriptural verse stating that "bride and groom are one spirit in two bodies" has no significance. It is taken for granted that the daughter leaves her natal home and joins her husband and his family. When there is a death in the family, it is the mother or wife's natal family that must offer a turban (in the case of a male) or a dupatta (in the case of a female)—and cash accompanies both modes of accoutrement. When a daughter dies, no matter what age or stage of life she may have been at, it is her natal family's responsibility to supply the

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wood for her cremation as also host the meal following the cremation. From her birth till her death the daughter is a debit in the family economy.

In its attempt to formalize the message of the gurus, an ethical code called the 'Rahit Maryada' was developed by Sikh reformers in the middle of the twentieth century. This code provides several rules to combat female oppression. Twice it makes the point that Sikh women should not veil their faces. It prohibits infanticide and even association with people who would practice it, although there is no prohibition against abortion. It allows widows to remarry and it underscores that the ceremony be the same as that of the first marriage. According to the Sikh Rahit Maryada, Sikhs should be free of all superstitions and not refuse to eat at the home of their married daughter. Dowry is prohibited.

Again many of these explicit rules are simply not followed. Out of "respect" for their daughters, Sikh parents will not accept a penny from their working daughter nor sip water in her married home. She is their prized "object," and so the ancient gender codes dating back to the Hindu Manusmṛti text continue to govern Sikh life.

#### Conclusion

Sikhs travel to distant corners of the world. At first only men migrated, but after the elimination of U.S. national quotas in 1965, there has been a dramatic surge in the Sikh population, both male and female, all across North America. Sikh women arrive not only as wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters but also independently to pursue education or enter a variety of careers. Like their male counterparts, they are energetic and enterprising, but even in the New World the talents and potential of many Sikh women continue to be stifled by age-old societal norms. How to preserve Sikh identity in the contemporary world is a vital concern for Sikhs across the globe. Threatened by modernity and affluence, patriarchal formulations become even more stringent. Since women are literally the reproducers of the community, the preservation of "Sikhi" falls primarily on them. Sikh women become subjected to manifold restrictions. Control over their reproductive rights leads to the reproduction of the family's identity "Honor" or izzat, is identified with manliness and belongs to hierarchical and patriarchal systems, that have become a central code of the Sikhs. Being a model community, Sikhs try to cover up female feticides, physical and psychological abuse, dowry deaths, and even "honor killings." The egalitarian and liberating message of Sikh scripture has yet to be applied in daily lives and is yet to be fully experienced by men and women alike.

In contemporary Sikh society, the gender neutral, spiritually and ethically significant 'punj kakke' (commonly referred to as the five Ks) provide both Sikh women and men with the prerequisite of spiritual form and order.

It is true that for many Sikhs, the Guru Granth gives "a sacred focus upon which to reflect and in the process discover the meaning of life as Sikhs. It [provides] a framework for the shaping of the Panth and [is] a decisive factor in shaping a distinctive Sikh identity" (Singh 2000, p. 281). As Jakobsh, (2003) suggests, "Analysis of the discursive structures in the formation of ritual

identities from a gender perspective allows for a more complex understanding of the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion" (p. 235).

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